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E

E 1498
19 FEB

2

PALESTINE

Registry Number

E1498/1498/31

FROM

C. Ben. Gurion

No.

Jewish Agency

Dated

for Palestine

Received in Registry

11. Feb 1947

19. Feb 1947

Request for discussion with Pepl.

States that as he may have to leave for Palestine soon and if possible to arrange private talk - informal but business, to find some common ground, to get over mutual difficulties.

Last Paper.

NO P.P.

(Minutes.)

Now see E 1670

H.B. 11
3

References.

1721/1585/31

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

61900

(Action completed.)

GEM 6/3

(Index)

9/1/48

Next Paper.

E1670

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Reference:-
FO
371 / 61900

PERSONAL

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

S/S. Zentler

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE.

TELEPHONE: MUSEUM 3815 (6 LINES).

TELEGRAMS: "ZIONIBURO. LONDON."

CODES: BENTLEY'S AND MOSSE'S.

Fixed for 9.45 Wed 77. GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.

11th February, 1947.

In reply please address the Secretary:

and quote the following Reference No.:

The Right Hon. Ernest Bevin, P.C., M.P.,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

E 1498
19 FEB

Dear Mr. Bevin,

I may have to leave for Palestine very soon, and am wondering whether you could spare me an hour for a private talk - informal but business - at which we might see if it is really so impossible to find some common ground, to get over some of your and our difficulties, or even to reconcile our interests?

I am at your disposal during this week as regards time and place, and a message here will always reach me.

Yours sincerely,

D. Ben-Gurion

D. Ben-Gurion.

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Reference:-
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4

1947

PALESTINE

E 1670
25 FEB

Registry Number

E1670/1498/21

FROM

D. Ben-Gurion

No.

Jewish Agency

Dated

14 Feb 1947

Received in Registry

14 Feb 1947

25 Feb 1947

Discussed with Pop. P.
transmits in writing as requested by Pop. P. of meeting on Wednesday 12th Feb, 1947 of suggestions made by D. Ben-Gurion re the settlement of the Palestine problem.

Last Paper.

1498

(Minutes.)

See also E 1721

References.

E 1498/1498/21

1721/1585/21

H.B. 11
.3

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

apt. D. Ben-Gurion
from M Bevin
Feb 19

(Action completed.)

P.S. 14/2

(Index)

[Signature]

Next Paper.

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Reference:-
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371 / 61900

S/S. has been ^{הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל} wishes letter on basis of attached sent. 5
in reply. K

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE.

TELEPHONE: MUSEUM 3815 (6 LINES).

TELEGRAMS: "ZIONIBURO. LONDON."

CODES: BENTLEY'S AND MOSSE'S.

77. GREAT RUSSELL STREET.

LONDON. W.C.1.

In reply please address the Secretary:

and quote the following Reference No.:

14 February, 1947.

The Right Hon. Ernest Bevin, P.C., M.P.,
Foreign Office,
Whitehall, S.W.1.

E 1670
25 FEB

Dear Mr. Bevin,

As you requested, I am putting in writing some of the suggestions I made at our talk last Wednesday.

1) Why a final settlement is necessary.

The peace of the Middle East, as you rightly said, is a major British interest. A final settlement of the Palestine problem will contribute substantially towards the consolidation of that peace. Without finality, apprehension, tension, unrest, and even perhaps strife, will continue in Palestine, and cause trouble in the Middle East.

2) Possible Settlements.

- (a) The establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State. This is, unfortunately, not immediately possible, as the Jews are in the minority.
- (b) An independent Palestine as a unitary State. This is theoretically possible, but utterly impracticable: neither the Jews themselves, nor public opinion in the world, would agree to place 600,000 or 700,000 Jews under Arab rule, nor would the Arabs of Palestine be able to govern this Jewish population against its will, or to stop the flow of Jewish immigration. Such a course would only aggravate the unrest in the Middle East, and worsen the relations between Britain and the United States. To try by constitutional devices to have a unitary State without subjecting Jews to Arabs is as hopeless as attempting to square the circle.

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- (c) The only immediate settlement possible, with finality, is the establishment of two States, one Jewish and the other Arab (or the Arab area might be joined to Trans-jordan). A viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine would comprise some 600,000 Arabs, and it may, therefore, be difficult to obtain beforehand the consent of all the Arabs. But it is certain that some of them would gladly accept it, while the rest would more or less acquiesce.

3) Arab and Jewish Minorities.

The question may rightly be asked: If 600,000 Arabs may be placed in a Jewish State, why may not 700,000 Jews be placed in an Arab State? Also why, if there can be adequate safeguards for an Arab minority in a Jewish State, there can be no such safeguards for a Jewish minority in an Arab State? The answer is simple:

The Jews in Palestine are the only part of the entire Jewish people who can attain national independence. If they are deprived of it, the entire Jewish people throughout the world, is finally deprived of any form of statehood. On the other hand, the 600,000 Arabs in a Jewish State would form less than two per cent. of the Arab people, which enjoys national independence and sovereignty in many States and vast territories. Palestine is less than one per cent. of the territories inhabited and ruled by Arabs.

An Arab minority in a Jewish State would not have to rely only on the constitutional safeguards on which a Jewish State must be based, but would know that Jewish Palestine was surrounded by Arab States, by millions of Arabs, and that the welfare of the entire Jewish State depended on its good relations with its Arab neighbours. The Jews have, moreover, hostages throughout the world, and could never allow themselves to treat a minority in their state except as complete equals; otherwise they would undermine the Jewish position throughout the world. But a Jewish minority in an Arab State would have no such safeguards; on the contrary, the fact that Palestine is surrounded by the Arab world would make the Jewish minority even more helpless and entirely dependent on the mercy of their rulers.

What is even more important is that Palestine as an Arab State would mean the complete prohibition of Jewish immigration, and thus perpetuate the tragedy of Jewish homelessness, with all the misery and suffering that that implies.

4) The Jewish State and the Arabs.

All the talk of war resulting from the establishment of a Jewish State is utterly unwarranted. Egypt, the biggest country /in

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in the Arab League, may quarrel with England about the Sudan or about the Treaty, but no one who knows Egypt will pretend that she will quarrel with England over Palestine. She did not quarrel with Turkey over the Sanjak of Alexandretta, when the French handed it over against the wishes of the Syrians. On the contrary, several of the Egyptian statesmen would welcome and support a settlement on the lines of partition. Transjordan, even more, is vitally interested in such a settlement, since it is only by the partition of Palestine than Transjordan can become a viable State. In Lebanon, the Christian population are anxious to have a Jewish State as their neighbour. Syria is beset with difficult internal problems - the economic situation and her own minorities - and she would be the last State in the Middle East to make war on anybody. Much the same applies to Iraq. Generally, if, with the support of England and America, the United Nations approved the establishment of a Jewish State, no Arab State Member of the United Nations would make any serious trouble.

As to the Palestinian Arabs, while the present leadership (the Mufti) would strongly oppose a Jewish State, it will hardly be able to stir up trouble, as witness its inability to do so ever since the Anglo-American Committee reported: it has failed because the masses mostly desire peace, and even the minority which might be willing to have a fight have now learned to have a wholesome respect for the Jews, and would be reluctant to provoke them. Once a Jewish State is established, and admitted to the United Nations, the Arab world will accept it and enter into friendly relations with it. What the Middle East really needs is development, social progress, and an improved standard of life for the mass of the people - just what Jewish Palestine can greatly help them to attain.

5) The Jewish State and England.

The Jews, in spite of the bitterness caused by the White Paper of 1939, have a community of interests and ideals with the British people and the Anglo-Saxon world. It is not just a matter of gratitude for the Balfour Declaration or for the treatment of Jews for the last hundred years or so. The very existence and survival of the Jewish people depends on whether British ideals and ways of life (liberal tendencies, tolerance, freedom, fair-dealing, respect for human dignity, democracy, etc.) prevail in the world. Under totalitarian regimes of any kind, Jewish life, Jewish civilisation and freedom are impossible.

A Jewish State in Palestine, even numbering three or four millions, will still be a small State, but it will be the only State in the Middle East, in fact in Asia, with a European civilisation.
/While

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While it will endeavour to maintain friendly relations with all its neighbours, Arab and Turkish, it must maintain an even deeper connection with Western civilisation, as represented by England.

Jewish labour, the predominant factor in Jewish Palestine, shares most of the ideals which have animated the British Labour Movement from its inception up to modern times.

We consider it a vital interest of our own to help to preserve England's place in the world in general, and especially in that part of the world where our future is being built. We shall, therefore, for our own sakes, regard your interests - economic and political, - as our own.

May I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere appreciation of the kindness and patience with which you listened to what I had to say at our last meeting?

Yours sincerely,

D. Ben-Gurion

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OUT FILE

19th February, 1947.

Dear Mr. Ben-Gurion,

I have received your letter of the 14th February in which you put forward in writing some of the suggestions you made during our recent talk. I have no doubt that your proposals will be fully considered when the matter comes before the United Nations.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) ERNEST BEVIN

Mr. D. Ben-Gurion.

Entered 10

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Reference:-

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371 / 61900

E

1947

PAPER

E 2319

17 MAR

Registry Number

E 2319/1498/31

FROM

R. H. Madocw

No.

Embassy

Dated

Washington

Received in Registry

to Mr. G. Booth
11 MAR 1947
17

Politic, Latin American Vote

Refer to reports letter 52/37/47 of 11th 7 (E 2245/17/17) and related to 499, giving list of Ben Guzman speech of Feb 27. He has confirmed previous information on French plan for working an the delegates of Latin American nations. Super Political course before U.N.

Last Paper.

(2079)

(Minutes.)

Para. 4 is of interest.

References.

U. N. Dept. ^{SAD}
S. American ^{WHCB 10/4} Dept.

H. Bealey 18/3

(Print.)

(Perhaps E. Dept. c. do an appropriate report to Mr. Madocw's 45: it need only be one sentence.)

M. Woodson 24/3

(How disposed of.)

Dkt. Mr. Madocw
to Lord
from Mr. Mason
April 12
Copy. Lawford
New York.
April 15

Draft submitted. See also E 2245

H. Bealey 27/3

W. J. 9/4

(Action completed.)

H. C. 9/1

(Index.)

9/9/47

Next Paper.

E 2567

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Reference:-
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371 / 61900

SECRET

E 25 12

le Booth
ED 2379
17 MAR

BRITISH EMBASSY.

WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

11th March, 1947.

My dear Paul,

In view of Lawford's letter No. 52/37/47 of the 7th March I am addressing this to you rather than to him, to be passed on to whoever deals with such matters. I expect that due note will have been taken of Top Secret telegram No. 499, of the 6th March, from the High Commissioner of Jerusalem to the Secretary of State; recording Ben Gurion's speech to his Mapai colleagues of the 27th February. In case they should have escaped your notice, the following are quotations therefrom:-

- (a) "Consideration must be given to approach (by the Jewish organizations) to the various nations represented in the United Nations organization."
- (b) "Locker would approach the Soviet Embassy in London and Goldman would take similar action in Washington."
- (c) "Another approach to Moscow would be through the cooperation of Russian satellites which were anxious to be rid of their Jews."
- (d) "American support would be of great importance and he hoped this would be forthcoming."

2. At this meeting Shertok offered to "establish close contact with the Arab Embassy in Washington." Ben Gurion's reply was that the success of any such action "must depend on the strength of Jewish support in the United Nations organization which would predispose the Arabs to compromise."

Paul H. Gore-Booth, Esq.,
United Nations Department,
Foreign Office,
London.

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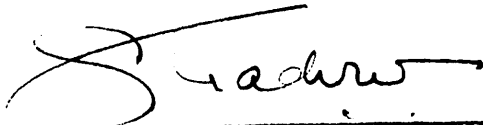
3. I refer to the above because it confirms, indirectly, information I sent to Lawford and yourself with regard to Jewish plans for working on the delegates of Latin American nations and/or their governments before the Palestine issue comes up at the United Nations.

4. If my memory is not at fault one of the five members of the Preparatory Committee suggested by Trygve Lie was to be a Brazilian; which, in the present state of Brazilian affairs would almost certainly help any U.S. proposal for a settlement.

5. Please let me know frankly if these remarks are held to be out of place?

6. I am sending a copy of this letter to Lawford.

Yours ever,



R. H. Hadow.

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Registry
No. E 2319/1498/31

710 OUT FILE 14
FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.
12th April
March, 1947.

H.B.

SECRET

cc -
Draft R.H.
Mr. Hadow,
Washington.

P
(From Mr. Mason)

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

copy to
Mr. Lawford.
New York.

7104
Mr. Mason

H.B. 27/3

mm 8/4

Dear Hadow,

We have been giving much thought to your letter of the 11th March, together with your letter to Lawford of the 28th February and his to me of the 7th March.

We realise the importance of the part which Latin-American votes are likely to play when Palestine is discussed by the General Assembly, and I am grateful to you for provoking discussion here on the possibility of taking some preparatory diplomatic action in the Latin-American Capitals.

The difficulty, of course, is that H.M.G. are not themselves submitting recommendations on Palestine, and we are therefore not in a position to predict in what form the issue will be presented to the Assembly. If the discussion were to turn on a straightforward pro-Arab resolution or on an equally simple pro-Zionist resolution, we should probably not

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Reference:-

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371 / 61900

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OUT FILE

16

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

12th April, 1947.

(E. 2319/1498/31.)

SECRET

Dear Hadow,

We have been giving much thought to your letter of the 11th March together with your letter to Lawford of the 28th February and his to me of the 7th March.

We realise the importance of the part which Latin-American votes are likely to play when Palestine is discussed by the General Assembly, and I am grateful to you for provoking discussion here on the possibility of taking some preparatory diplomatic action in the Latin-American Capitals.

The difficulty, of course, is that His Majesty's Government are not themselves submitting recommendations on Palestine, and we are therefore not in a position to predict in what form the issue will be presented to the Assembly. If the discussion were to turn on a straightforward pro-Arab resolution or on an equally simple pro-Zionist resolution, we should probably not wish to influence the choice of the Latin-American Delegations. It is, no doubt, more probable that the issues will be more complex than this and that we may wish to use our influence for or against the proposals on which the Assembly is asked to vote. But the possibilities are too numerous for any analysis of them to be profitable at this stage.

What we hope our missions in Latin America will be able to do is to reduce the volume of misrepresentation which will continue to grow as long as the Arabs and, still more, the Zionists are left alone in the field. All posts will have received the most recent White Paper on Palestine (Cmd. 7044) and the texts of the Secretary of State's announcement of the 18th February and his speech of the 25th. We are preparing a letter, in the general sense of what I have said above, for circulation to all Latin American posts.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Lawford.

Yours sincerely

(Sgd) Paul Mason

(P. Mason).

R. H. Hadow, Esq.,

Washington.

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1947

E

E 2507

17

PALESTINE

25

Registry Number

E 2507/1498/2

FROM

J.M. Addeis

No.

57

Dated

10/16/47

Received in Registry

14 Nov 1947

25

Resolution - Abolition of Law.

Transmit copy of letter from J.M. Addeis to Mr. Smith, C.O. Enclosing copy of telegram from R. Ben-Gurion to the Prime Minister, giving his firm view on the grant of abolition in Palestine resulting from resolution of Abolition of Law.

Last Paper.

2319

(Minutes.)

References.

HB. 25/3

Mr. P. & R. Edmonds C.O. to J.M. Addeis 2/3

(Print.)

HB. 257/3

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

SLM/26/3

(Index.)

AS 9/19/48

Next Paper.

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I feel in duty bound to draw your attention to extreme gravity of situation in Palestine following imposition martial law. 15% of Jews of Tel Aviv and suburbs, core of country's social and industrial life, and 30% of Jews in Jerusalem, mostly working class quarters, isolated from all normal contact with outside world, facing complete breakdown of mechanism civilised life apart from food supplies and skeleton medical services. Industry crippled, trade paralysed, unemployment threatening to become catastrophic. Industrial raw materials cannot enter, goods manufactured with available stocks cannot be marketed outside. Workers cut off from places of work, children from schools.

These restrictions have not affected terrorists nor stopped their activities but instead have increased resentment of hard-hat population, created fertile soil for terrorist propaganda, frustrating community's attempts to combat terrorism by itself. Martial law absolutely....

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absolutely futile and senseless unless really meant to punish whole community, ruin its economy and destroy the foundations of the Jewish National Home. Terrorism, which harms the Jewish cause even more than it does the Government, is aberration of despair caused by the White Paper policy as unfortunately and inexplicably maintained and reinforced under Labour Government.

On July 1st, 1946, you told House of Commons it was quite wrong to say your Government was carrying out White Paper policy. You apparently were unaware and are still unaware that the White Paper remains in force. The present limited immigration licensing Jews will not exceed one third total population records with terms of the White Paper. In order to enforce the White Paper, Palestine was turned into a Police State where the citizen was deprived of all basic guards for civil liberties - Martial Law is latest turn of the screw.

Racial discrimination still confines Jews to a narrow pale of settlement as in Warist Russia. Thousands of Jews are held in camps on Cyprus, tens of the sons of displaced persons condemned to

degradation...

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degradation in Europe, prevented by the Mandatory's armed forces from reaching the shores of their National Home - the only country where they can find salvation. It is still inconceivable to us that this unjust and cruel policy, so strenuously condemned by you, your colleagues and your Party, should continue to be enforced by your Government with most un-British oppressive measures. The present situation in Palestine is fraught with grave dangers for all concerned and in the name of justice and sanity I must earnestly appeal to you to avert fatal consequences of present repressive regime by removing the root cause of unrest, abrogating the racial laws, granting and facilitating substantial Jewish immigration and thus re-establish the indispensable conditions for orderly and decent government.

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371 / 61900

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Eastern Dept.
✓
CMAA
24/3

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INDEXED

2567/498 ?1

With the Compliments of the Private
Secretary to the Secretary of State
for the Colonies.

Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.1.

22nd March 1947

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Reference:-

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21st March, 1947. 24

Thank you for your letter of the 19th March enclosing a copy of a telegram from Mr. Ben Gurion to the Prime Minister delivered on 18th March. Mr. Ben Gurion had already telegraphed the text to Mr. Creech Jones.

My Secretary of State quite agrees with the lines of the reply proposed in your letter, and the High Commissioner for Palestine has been asked to convey a reply accordingly to Mr. Ben Gurion.

I am sending copies of this letter to McAlpine of the Foreign Office and Fraser of the Cabinet Offices.

Private Secretary.

(red) E.R. Redmonds

J.M. Addis, Esq.

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1947

PALESTINE

4776
5 1947

Registry Number

E 4776/498/31

FROM

67

No.

board

Dated

Received in Registry

5th June 1947

Speech by Prof. Gerson
President of 1947 of Panel 2.
A speech address made to Jewish Agency
executive by Prof. Gerson on his return
from meeting of A.S.V.
of his interview with Gersonyko.

Last Paper.

2567

(Minutes.)

Northern Dept. 19/6
Mr. Beckley on return

6/6
D. S. Benin
June 6

References.

An interesting telegram. It is good that the
Jewish leaders should be coming to realise that a
price has to be paid for Soviet support.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

RC
5/8/6

N.Y.P. New York tel 1549 5/6.

773 24/6

(Action completed.)

5/19/47

(Index.)

5/19/47

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INWARD TELEGRAM

Cypher (O.T.P.)

E 47
5 1947 3/6
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FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

D. 2nd June, 1947.
R. 2nd " " 25.30 hrs.

IMPORTANT

No. 1077 Top Secret.

Addressed to the S. of S.
Repeated Washington No. 127 for United Kingdom
Delegation to U.N.O.

I am sending by savingram a report from highly reliable source of an address made to Jewish Agency Executive by Mr. Ben Gurion on his return from meeting of U.N.O. Its chief interest lies in his account of interview with Gromyko, after declaration latter made on Russian attitude to Palestine problem. Ben Gurion's conclusion, from what Gromyko said to him, that Russia has left herself free to support either Arabs or Jews in September next, with a view to gaining her main object, namely ousting of British influence from Middle East, would seem to hit the mark and is more realistic than the views normally expressed by this generally most unrealistic politician. Gromyko's insistence (?that) (?Russia's making) up her mind on whom to support will be in accordance with behaviour and evidence of parties before the fact-finding committee, is also interesting. Pressure be put on Ben Gurion to demand independence, not to agree to British military bases, and under no consideration to agree to the continuance of Mandate, has undoubtedly (?word omitted) Jews in a dilemma, as clearly set out by Ben Gurion himself in report.

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2. I should also draw attention of (?to) Ben Gurion's reference at the same meeting, to the necessity for unity (before) a fact finding committee, to his statement that all efforts must be made to present any organisation other than Jewish Agency from submitting a memorandum of proposals for a solution. He mentions especially Agudatha Israel, also Ihud and Hashomer Hatzair.

RECEIVED IN O.S.

4 JUN 1947

SENT TO DEP.

(* Correction being obtained)

Distributed to:-

- M.S. 25
- Secretary of State
- Sir T. Lloyd
- Mr. I. Thomas
- Mr. Martin
- Sir D. Harris
- Mr. Trafford Smith
- Mr. Mathison
- Mr. Higham
- Mr. Bennett
- Mr. Eastwood
- Mr. Bigg
- Miss Boyd
- Mr. Poynton.
- Foreign Office
- " "
- M.I.5.

- Mr. C.W. Baxter.
- Mr. I.P. Garran.
- Mr. T.A. Robertson.

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E 4786/1498/21

Cypher/OTP

19 JUN 1947

REPETITIONS

INDEXED

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From Permanent United Kingdom Representative to United Nations)

No. 1549

D. 7.29 p.m. 5th June, 1947.

5th June, 1947.

R. 3.10 a.m. 6th June, 1947.

MMMMMMMM

Please pass to Jerusalem.

[Begins.]

Addressed to High Commissioner, Jerusalem, telegram No. 46 of June 5th.

Your telegram No. 1077 to Secretary of State.

Please repeat paragraph 1 from "insistence" to "her mind" and from "undoubtedly" to "Jews":

Paragraph 2, last sentence, from "mentioned" to "Israel".

[Ends.]

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section, Colonial Office, for repetition to Jerusalem.]

JUN 1947
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31

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Reference:-

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4776 INWARD TELEGRAM
1498/31

20
Keep with pp
lmm
14/6

AMENDED COPY (corrections on 1st and 2nd pages * and underlined)
Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

D. 2nd June, 1947.
R. 2nd " " 23.30 hrs.

IMPORTANT

No. 1077 Top Secret.

Addressed to the S. of S.
Repeated Washington No. 127 for United Kingdom
Delegation to U.N.O.

I am sending by savingram a report from highly reliable source of an address made to Jewish Agency Executive by Mr. Ben Gurion on his return from meeting of U.N.O. Its chief interest lies in his account of interview with Gromyko, after declaration latter made on Russian attitude to Palestine problem. Ben Gurion's conclusion, from what Gromyko said to him, that Russia has left herself free to support either Arabs or Jews in September next, with a view to gaining her main object, namely curbing of British influence from Middle East, would seem to hit the mark and is more realistic than the views normally expressed by this generally most unrealistic politician. Gromyko's insistence *that Russia will make up her mind on whom to support will be in accordance with behaviour and evidence of parties before the fact-finding committee, is also interesting. Pressure be put on Ben Gurion to demand independence, not to agree to British military bases, and under no consideration to agree to the continuance of Mandate, has undoubtedly (?word omitted) Jews in a dilemma, as clearly set out by Ben Gurion himself in report.

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